

S P E E C H
OF
HON. CHARLES D. DRAKE,

DELIVERED BEFORE THE
NATIONAL UNION ASSOCIATION, AT CINCINNATI, OCTOBER 1, 1864.

Mr. President, Ladies, and Gentlemen :

IN accepting the invitation of the Committee of the National Union Association to speak on this occasion, I have departed from a long-formed purpose not to go out of my own State to address the people on the affairs of the country. As you are aware, my home is in Missouri—"the dark and bloody ground" of the border States since the rebellion's rise; but destined yet to come forth out of all her sufferings and wrongs, redeemed at once from slavery, disloyalty and Democracy, by the Radical spirit of loyalty and Freedom. [Applause.] To the great work of her redemption from that trio of curses, I have pledged in my heart the whole powers of my being, with the intention not to be drawn into other fields of effort, but to labor on there, steadily and unflinchingly, till the day of deliverance; which, God be praised! is, I trust, near at hand. [Applause.]

But when this call from my former home and native city came to me, it seemed to come, not from your committee room, but from that spot in your beautiful "Spring Grove," where lie the remains of a Revolutionary grandsire, and those of an honored father, whose name was for more than fifty years identified with your city; whose life, as many here know, was one of devotion to the public good; and in whose heart patriotism was as living a principle as the vital courses of his blood. I seemed to hear him say, Come, my son, and speak from near my grave for your country! and my soul answered, Yes, father, I come! and may your listening spirit approve my words for my country. [Great applause.]

SPEAKS FOR HIS COUNTRY.

My friends, I came to speak for my country, indeed—for *our* country, in the day of its trial and affliction, but, as I joyfully believe, the day also of its glory. The hour of triumph over rebellion and treason hastens on; the death-knell of traitors comes on the rushing air from Mobile Bay, Atlanta and Shenandoah Valley—no more our "Valley of Humiliation;" and the voices of the loyal people of this great nation thunder the doom of a perfidious and traitorous Democracy. [Cheers.] Sherman, Sheridan, Grant and Faragut, are freemen's watchwords now; Liberty and Union their battle cry; down with rebellion and slavery together! their stern and irreversible decree; [Great applause] and may God have mercy on all traitors, North as well as South, and all Peace Democrats and Copperheads, from this day forth—for no mercy will the people show them. [Renewed applause.]

THE BULLET AND THE BALLOT.

I speak thus confidently, not that I under-estimate the tremendous emergency now pressing the nation, and requiring its fate in the field of civil conflict to be decided within the next thirty-eight days, but because of my unflinching faith in the patriotism and pluck of the masses of the American people, whether in the battle of the bullet or the ballot. [Cheers.] The heroism of the field, where the former deals death to traitors in the South, will be nobly answered from the field where the latter smites down their brother traitors in the North. The day of judgment for both is at hand, and it will be the day of their country's redemption at once from the power of a heartless Southern aristocracy, and from the influence of a corrupt Northern Democracy. [Cheers.] If not so, then has the day of wreck to this great Republic indeed come, and even now its grave yawns before it.

LIBERTY AT STAKE.

Is this too dark a view of the present crisis in our country's affairs? Not to him who comprehends the portentous issues involved in the pending struggle, North and South. There is far more in that struggle than the mere decision of the relative strength, prowess, and strategy of opposing armies. There is more in it than merely sustaining the lawful Government of the United States; more than merely upholding the Constitution; more than merely maintaining the integrity of the Union; more than merely preserving the unity of the nation. It is because the very life-principle of Government, Constitution, Union, and nationality is at stake, that the contest assumes a life-and-death character to this country. That life-principle is Liberty, without which Government, Constitution, Union, and nationality could not exist an hour; and it is cast on the hazard of this double die of war in the field and at the polls. If we lose in this great battle, we lose Liberty, and with it all the rest. If we make peace, except as conquerors, we lose; and if we lose, we are lost. No wonder, then, that the heart of the nation throbs with such beats as never this or other nation felt; that the country's hope—its honest and patriotic masses—are aroused and coming; and that the heel of the mighty people is already on the serpent's head, and presently will grind it into atoms. [Applause.]

AMERICANS ASSAIL THEIR COUNTRY.

Who is it, my friends, that would destroy our noble birthright of freedom? Is it a foreign king, potentate, or power? No, no! Were it so, we should not hear the pusillanimous cry of Peace! Peace! that now rings through the land, but every voice would be for war. No, it is no foreign foe, but Americans, who are engaged in this work of destruction; and it is because they are Americans, *whose votes are wanted hereafter*—as they have been given heretofore—for the Democratic party, that Northern cowards and traitors whine like whipped spaniels for peace with them. [Cheers.] But the patriot knows no difference between the foreign and domestic enemies of his country, except to hold the latter more atrocious and infamous than the former could possibly be. [Applause.] And it is between Southern traitors in arms, and Northern traitors at the ballot box, on the one side, and the patriots of the nation in the field, and their brother patriots at the polls, on the other, that this tremendous issue is to be decided, quickly and forever.

THE CONTEST IS ABOVE "POLITICS."

You see, then, that the contest before us has hardly a single feature of an ordinary political struggle. It is far above the range of what we call politics; and that takes it, thank God! clear beyond the reach of the pot-house politicians—the big-mouthed cat-fish of the Democracy, who feed in the mud of treason and disloyalty at the bottom, and know nothing of the pure waters of patriotism above, where the loyal PEOPLE live and move. We are dealing now with questions which make statesmen almost of the farmers, the mechanics, the artisans, the shopkeepers, and the day-laborers of the country. So new and strange a sight is beyond the comprehension of crowned heads, obfuscates aristocracies, bewilders the middle classes of European nations, and leaves the lower orders there in a muddle of stupid wonder. It is such a condition as comes upon no nation more than once; for, once come, the nation falls under it, or rises above it forever. And that is just what is before us now. We must, as a nation, fall before this armed rebellion, aided by its northern allies, or we must put both down together, and so make rebellion and treason absolutely impossible hereafter. [Applause.] Behold, then, not only your own fate in the present hour, but that of your posterity to the latest generation. Kiss the Democracy and die: cling to your country and live. [Great applause.]

I would not, my friends, even in this day of most momentous concern to all of us, and all who are to come after us, attempt to give a false coloring to its mighty issues. My difficulty is not in hunting out terms of ex-

ageration, but in finding fit words so to tell the simple truth, as to give the impression I desire to make. But, perhaps, the best way to do that is to lay aside generalities, and come to a distinct presentation of facts, as they lie on the surface of the last four years' history; to the principal of which let us now briefly refer.

THE UNION PRIOR TO SECESSION.

The first great fact to be observed is, that up to the 20th day of December, 1860, the Union of the American PEOPLE—not American *States*—was complete and unbroken; in its nature just as our fathers gave it to us; in magnitude, prosperity, and power immeasurably greater than the most sanguine of them ever dreamed it would be. If there was a country which could justly be called earth's glory, it was this country, and it was so because of the Union. If there was a people in the whole world that merited a chief place in history, it was this people; and they merited it because of their Union. If ever a nation might justly have looked forward to a prosperous, happy, and glorious future, it was this nation; and it might have so looked, not so much because of its peculiar structure of Government, its physical resources, its wealth, or its intellectual power, as because of its UNION. It enjoyed prosperity through its Union, it was peaceful in its Union, it was happy from its Union, and it moved in the faultless orbit of its Union, the pole-star of the human race. [Applause.] To it the Union was bone, muscle, sinew, nerve, blood, and soul; in one word, it lived, and moved, and had its being in the Union.

SOUTH CAROLINA'S TREASON.

The second great fact is, that on the 20th day of December, 1860, a small portion of that people, composing a State, in defiance of Constitution and laws, and in ruthless contempt of all the claims of brotherhood, resolved to destroy that Union, to separate themselves from the body of the united people, and to form within the limits of the Union another nation, and build up there a distinct and hostile Government. In this act they were followed by ten other States.

THE SOUTH REJECTS THE RULE OF THE MAJORITY.

The third great fact is, that this mad plunging of those States from their spheres in the Union, was not because oppression, outrage, or wrong had been put upon them, or threatened, but because in their mere willfulness and perverseness, and for the attainment of ulterior ends of their own unhallowed ambition, they resolved not to submit to the rule of the majority of the nation; though they had, in the most solemn form in which any people could speak, bound themselves to the fundamental and vital principle of all republican government—the right of the majority to govern.

A FORTY YEARS' CONSPIRACY.

The fourth great fact is, that the secession of those States was not an act of sudden impulse, nor the offspring of fevered passion, which, in either case, might, in a cooler moment, be repented of and recalled; but was the result of a forty years' deliberate conspiracy, every track of which was perjury, and every purpose of which was ruin. Its secrets, could they be exposed, would teach Satan perfidy, and shame hell for treachery. [Cheers.] Its visible features make all previous conspiracies insignificant. It had not one redeeming trait, nor a single faint trace of justification, palliation, or excuse. It was simply and wholly the child of infernal passions, demanding their own gratification, though America became a field of blood, and the world were set on fire in the conflict. And so it stands to this day, and so it will stand, till its fast approaching end shall bury it in the grave of historic and eternal infamy. [Applause.]

SLAVERY THE CAUSE OF SECESSION.

The fifth great fact—one which he is indeed ignorant and unfortunate who does not yet know it, and he most criminal who would palliate or hide it—is that this forty years' conspiracy against the nation's unity and life had for its object one thing alone, and no other, and that, to their undying ignominy be it said, no less than the creation, permanent establish-

ment, and continental extension of an empire, the one sole distinctive idea and principle of which should be the enslavement of millions of human beings then within its limits, and the future piracy of millions more from another continent, to be likewise enslaved, as that empire should be afterward extended. Not covertly, not apologetically, but openly and impudently, they laid the corner-stone of that empire in the institution of Slavery, and braved the public sentiment of the world by an attempt to erect a nationality upon a system which nearly all Christian nations has long ago hunted down with fiery execration. [Applause.] They vauntingly told the world that they were an ARISTOCRACY, with a God-given right to enslave the negro; and that they would not only enslave him, but scorned to live in union with white people who would not do likewise. They spurned the myriad ties that bound them to the rest of their nation, that they might be let alone to bind the chains more securely and gallingly upon those enslaved millions, and the millions more that, by birth or kidnapping, were to become sharers in their pitiless bondage. They scouted every appeal from and for the country, because that was no country to them where Slavery was not the "living principle of social order," and could not be made, as they said, the token of "a higher civilization, a purer liberty, and a better system of human government." They proclaimed that they would not remain in the Union if a sheet of blank paper were given them on which to write their own terms; and that because there was not room there for the spread of the institution of Slavery, without which that institution was doomed to suffocation and extinction. They, therefore, demanded more territory for Slavery's extension; and as that could not be got in the Union, they ferociously determined to go out of the Union, and wrest the coveted possession from their own country, and from Mexico and Central America, and so around the shores of the Gulf of Mexico, realize that "Golden Circle" of empire, where Slavery should minister to a bloody and remorseless oligarchy, and Cotton should be king over a nation with but two classes—aristocrats and "niggers." [Cheers.] And for such fiendish ends as these, secession, rebellion, treason, war, and desolation were let loose upon a land, where Liberty and Peace had long contended which should bestow the richest blessings. For such ends as these, they contemned the moral sense of the human race, and scoffed at the graves and memory of their fathers, whose names are held in reverence, wherever truth has disciples, or freedom, votaries. [Applause.] For such ends as these they smote down the eternal principles of right, silenced conscience, outlawed themselves from the world's esteem, defied the judgment of Almighty God, and gave themselves up to the vocation of the bandit and the pirate, with nothing to dignify the act, but the unheard of magnitude of their stupendous crime. [Applause.]

My friends, I feel, and I doubt not you feel, how utterly inadequate has been this effort to depict the hideous deformity and awful wickedness of that crime. Sure I am that I have no capacity to express as I feel its measureless iniquity. Still it was necessary to the line of thought I had marked out for this evening's discussion, that I should attempt, by the presentation of these five great facts, to draw your minds to a renewed consideration of matters which inhere in and appertain to Slavery's war against your country, as much to-day as when the first gun was fired at Fort Sumter, and which will continue part and parcel of that war till the last gun is fired against the rebellion, and the nation, vindicated by itself alone, from its domestic foes, shall turn to the works, enjoy the repose, and reap the blessings of a peace which to the last moment of time domestic foes will never dare disturb again.

THE NORTHERN SPIRIT OF THE WAR.

For nearly three years and a half that war has been waged. I need not attempt to trace before you its blazing and blood-stained course. It has been familiar to you through all that long period of woe, brooding over you like a nightmare. You see it daily, many of you, in the habili-

ments of mourning in your dwellings ; you note it tearfully in the vacant chair at your table ; you know it in the absence of the manly voice from your home ; you read it in the inscription on the marble monument in the cemetery, or in the simple name on the painted head-board in the burying-ground ; you gaze at it broken-heartedly in the faithful photograph—all that was left by the brave soldier boy who is never to return ; you feel it in the aching void in the heart that has given its loved one—husband, son, father—to your country. And what you, mourning father, or weeping mother, or desolate widow, find embittering your sacrifices for that country, is only what scores of thousands of other fathers, mothers, and widows in the land share with you, as a hard but precious memento of what has been lost that your country might be saved. Never have people brought such sacrifices to their country's altar, as those with which this people have taught the world what patriotism means. [Applause.] Men by the million for the field, women by the ten thousand for the hospitals and Sanitary rooms, money by thousands of millions for the expenses of war, have been supplied and lavished for country and liberty, with a generosity which none but patriots could feel, and which nothing but the profoundest conviction of duty to a great and holy cause could inspire. Disaster has at times saddened, but never dismayed, the spirit of the people ; but even in the darkest hour they have borne up with stout hearts, and pressed forward with willing hands, to do and dare all that country demanded, all that patriotism invoked. And the armies of the Republic cheered on by the smiles and benedictions of the loved ones at home, have pressed forward in their work of death to the rebellion and rebels, conquering as they went, and holding as they conquered, till the grim veterans were thundering at the very citadels of treason, and the day seemed dawning when the monster would be strangled in his strongholds, and buried in the blood-filled trenches that surround them. [Applause.]

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION COMES ON.

At this critical juncture in the progress of the war, the attention of the people is of necessity partially turned from the gory field where their brothers are acting so glorious a part, to another field where they themselves have to perform a part scarcely less important. In the midst of the intense interest which the conflict of arms excites in every patriotic breast, another contest opens at home, in which the ballot is the weapon, and the control of the national Government, in all its departments, civil and military, is at stake. The quadrennial election of the Chief Magistrate of the nation has, in conformity with the Constitution, to be made ; and the nation rapidly nears that day of all its days, when, fighting with one hand and voting with the other, the fate of the country is to be decided between the friends and enemies of the Constitution and the Union. Yes, my friends, its fate to be *decided* on that day ; and we might as well look at the matter in that single, sharp point, for to that it has come. View it as you please, you can make nothing less or else of it. The question is not between variant policies to sustain the Government, but whether we shall have a Government to sustain ; not whether this principle or that shall prevail in the construction of the Constitution, but whether the Constitution shall remain in existence ; not whether the Union can be preserved this way or that way, but whether it can be preserved at all ; not whether the country needs this or that measure to secure its welfare, but whether it shall continue to be a country for you, or me, or any of us. [Applause.]

THE ISSUE AT THE POLLS—BACK OUT OR GO AHEAD.

Such is my judgment of the nature of the crisis now upon us. But the people have been so long familiar with this war for the overthrow of the Government, Constitution, Union, and Country, that I fear some may not fully realize that *the conflict is now shifted from the battle-field to the polls*. [Applause.] But yet it is verily so. And it is so because the question to be settled at the ballot box is, whether the sword shall continue to cut down the rebel armies until the rebellion is absolutely, completely, and

finally crushed, beyond the possibility of resuscitation, or whether it shall be ingloriously sheathed, and all its conquests dastardly given up. In other words, whether the rebel Confederacy shall be recognized, and the nation cut in two, and the two parts, after a brief respite, go to fighting again, and keep at it, like Kilkenny cats, till both are destroyed; or whether we shall go on fighting now, while our hand is in, till the authority of the Constitution is re-established over every inch of the Union's territory, so to remain while the world lasts. [Enthusiastic and repeated applause.] Or, in shorter or sharper terms, whether we shall back out or go ahead. [Cheers and cries of "Go ahead."] That is the essence of the whole case, boiled down into the plainest Anglo Saxon. And, my friends, to use a homely phrase, "you had better believe it;" for upon the people's believing it depends the result of the pending presidential election; and upon that result depends your country's salvation, and upon your country's salvation depends the cause of human freedom over the whole earth. [Applause.]

HORSES, RATS, WAR AND PEACE DEMOCRATS, AND SNAKES.

Of course no such issue as this could come up now, if *all* the people in the Northern States were earnestly and truly loyal. But you know, as well as I do, that they are not all loyal, even in name; but that multitudes of them are positively and outspokenly disloyal. I need not tell you that there are *traitors* in the North, and plenty of them, as well as in the South. You can't step out of your doors without meeting them. Perhaps there are some of them here to-night. I hope there are. [Laughter.] They have heard some wholesome truths already, and I'll try to tell them some more. [Cheers.] They call themselves Democrats—an unfortunate name for many who act with them, but who, I believe, really love the Union; for it is the name to which all rebels, Copperheads, guerrillas, bushwhackers, Sons of Liberty, Knights of the Golden Circle, O. A. K's, Secessionists and Cessionists in the whole country answer. [Cheers and shouts.] Every one of them is a Democrat dyed in the wool, and many of them dyed in blood. [Cheers.] Some, acting with them as the tail follows an animal, call themselves "*War Democrats*;" but I quite agree with Fernando Wood, that, that is a solecism, a contradiction in terms, an impossible combination. To use a zoological illustration—you may call a horse a rat, or a rat a horse, but it won't transmogrify either. The horse will neigh, and the rat will squeak, in spite of the misnomer. Horses and rats live together in stables, and eat some of the same kinds of food; but the horse is still a horse, and the rat is still a rat, for all that. So a man may run with the Democracy, and call himself a War Democrat, but if he is at heart honestly and truly for the Union, and in favor of the war for the Union's preservation, he is no more a democrat than a horse is a rat, or a rat is a horse. With about equal classicality of expression, Mr. Trainor, of your state, said at Chicago, during the recent Democratic saturnalia there, "There is no difference between a War Democrat and an Abolitionist. *They are both links in the same sausage, made out of the same dog.*" [Cheers and laughter.] A real patriot—but not a sensible one—may befool himself into great error, by calling himself a War Democrat; but when a man calls himself a *Peace Democrat*, he neither fools himself nor any one else. He knows, and every body else knows, that he is a **TRAITOR**, [Great and continued applause,] and he might as well be called so in plain terms. This is no time to mince words, or to be afraid of calling men and things by their right names. Here is the proof that *traitor* is the right name for this animal.

THE PEACE DEMOCRAT A TRAITOR—THE PROOF.

The Peace Democrat wants the war for the Union stopped; and what more does Jeff. Davis want? "All he asks is to be let alone." [Cheers and applause.] The Peace Democrat wants to smile instead of shoot rebels into submission, like the old fellow with the cow:

"There was an old man who said: 'How
Shall I flee from this horrible cow?'"

I will sit on the stile,
And continue to smile,
Which may soften the heart of this cow.'” [Laughter.]

That is just what the rebels would have us do. The Peace Democrat says, let us negotiate with the rebels; and could Jeff. Davis ask anything better? For, once stop fighting to negotiate with them, and it will be the end of war for a while, *but it will also be the end of the Union*; and nobody knows that better than Jeff. Davis knows it. [Great applause.] The Peace Democrat wants Slavery continued and established; and what more do the rebels want? The Peace Democrat—white-livered coward that he is!—says we can't whip the rebels; and has not every rebel always said the same thing? [Cheers.] The Peace Democrat says we ought not to whip them if we could; and is not that the prime article in the rebel creed? The Peace Democrat says you have no constitutional right to coerce a sovereign State; and is not that one of the very foundation heresies of the rebellion? The Peace Democrat says that it is against State Rights to coerce a sovereign State; and is not that every rebel's opinion, too? The Peace Democrat demands that all the prisons in the North be unbarred, and rebels and traitors set free; and what better would they themselves ask? [Laughter and cheers.] The Peace Democrat says, “Down with all gibbets!” and so says every rebel; for,

“No rogue e'er felt the halter draw,
With good opinion of the law.” [Cheers.]

The Peace Democrat wants his candidate for the Presidency elected; and does not every rebel pray for the success of “Little Mac?” [Great applause.] But, above all, the Peace Democrat demands that Abe Lincoln, the “tyrant, the “felon,” the “monster usurper,” the “gorilla despot,” shall be defeated; and all rebeldom, with one universal voice, yells “that's it!” “go it, Democrats!” “down with Abe Lincoln!” [Great cheers.]

A PEACE DEMOCRAT WORSE THAN A REBEL.

And so, my friends, we have come to this pass, that traitors North organize in open daylight, as well as in midnight conclave, to fight the battles of the rebellion at the polls, while traitors South are fighting its battles in the field. In what does one differ from the other, except in the means used for attaining the same end? Indeed, may it not be justly said that the Northern traitor is the meaner and more villainous of the two—[Cheers]—because he is doing his devilish work, unmolested and without fear of punishment, right under the flag he conspires to betray; while the Southern traitor steps out like a man under the rebel flag and makes fight, braving all consequences, even unto death! For my part, I respect the latter twice as much as the former; just as I hold the rattlesnake that warns before he strikes, a more respectable reptile than the copperhead, that bites first and warns afterward. [Cheers and shouts.] At the same time, I say, *smash them both!* [Enthusiastic cheers.]

But, my friends, interesting as this zoological garden of horses, rats, Peace Democrats, rattlesnakes and Copperheads is, I must proceed to other matters.

THE CHICAGO PLATFORM, ALIAS DEADFALL.

I want to talk a while about platforms, otherwise sometimes known and cursed as deadfalls. I shall not soon forget the feelings with which I first read the deadfall that the Chicago Convention built for itself, and called it platform. [Laughter.] My first feeling was intense indignation, that on the whole continent of America there could be found a body of men, so lost to patriotism, freedom, truth and decency, as to send forth such a concoction of treason, hypocrisy and fraud. [Cheers.] But my “sober, second thought” made me jubilant; for I saw that their deadfall had, in the instant of its erection, dropped upon themselves, and caught the whole Democrat tribe—[cheers]—War Democrats, Peace Democrats, Copperheads, Sons of Liberty, Horatio Seynour, Fernando Wood, Vallandigham, and all. [Loud and continued cheers.] And I am still more jubilant now in the belief that on the eighth of next month the great Union party

of the nation will light down on that deadfall, and crush the last breath out of the whole Democratic mass that may then be under it. [Great cheers, and a cry, "Where is George E. Pugh?"] And I said with Sancho Panza, "Blessings on the man that first invented"—platforms! [Laughter and applause.] But if ever a party had cause to curse them, it was the Democratic party in 1864. I was for a time disturbed because the Republican Union party nominated its candidates as early as June! But the result has shown that it was well; though in a way that was probably not foreseen. From the 8th of June, when Mr. Lincoln was nominated, to the 30th of August, when Gen. McClellan was nominated, you will remember that hardly a movement was discoverable among the people in reference to the Presidential election. An uninformed observer would not have supposed that we were within as many years of it as we were months. It looked dreadfully like apathy; for which, evidently the Democracy mistook it. Their Convention assembled under the animating conviction that they had only to put their candidate on the track, no matter with how much dead weight about him, and let him win the race to the White House in a walk. Mistaking the nation's quiet waiting for an antagonist to Mr. Lincoln, for disaffection toward him, and judging thence that the people were ripe for any kind of Democratic candidate or platform, they took full length of rope and—hung themselves. [Cheers and laughter.] Let us dissect that platform, and see what it is not made of, and what it is made of.

WHAT IT IS NOT MADE OF.

Very few words will suffice to tell what it is not made of; for you can't find a single fiber of patriotism, courage, manliness, or honesty in it. [Cheers.] And it is so singularly destitute of common sense, in utterly ignoring great and vital issues, and prating about matters which can never be dignified into issues, and which the country cares nothing about, that it might well pass for the production of an All-fools' Convention, if it were not that a man can't very well be both a fool and a knave. [Great applause.]

That will do for what it is not made of. Now, as briefly as possible, for what it is made of.

DEMOCRATIC UNIONISM.

It begins by saying, "*That in the future as in the past, we will adhere with unswerving fidelity to the Union, under the Constitution.*"

"In the future as in the past." Does that mean that they *have*, in the past, "adhered with unswerving fidelity to the Union?" If it does, then they do not speak for the Democratic party, or else they do not intend to adhere to the Union at all; for it was Southern Democrats who attempted to break up the Union; and it was a Democratic Secretary of War who furnished them with the arms of the Union to assail the Union with; and it was a Democratic President who looked on, without moving so much as his little finger to save the Union. And have we not for nearly four years been fighting Southern Democrats, armed for the Union's destruction? [Great applause.]

"THE UNION AS IT WAS," RULED BY SLAVERY.

"*The Union under the Constitution.*" Why did they not say, "*The Union as it was, under the Constitution as it is?*" for that is what they meant, but had not the manliness, courage or honesty to say in their platform, as they do in their speeches and newspapers every day, all over the country. Why did they not say it? Simply, because they dared not come out before the country and the world, and avow that the "Union as it was," means, with them, the Union *ruled by Slavery*—[Applause]—and the "Constitution as it is," means the Constitution recognizing Slavery, and not to be amended so as to prohibit it, and not capable of being so amended, except by the consent of every State. Or, in George H. Pendleton's words, spoken in the House of Representatives, on the 15th of June, 1861, "*Neither three-fourths of the States, nor all the States, save one, can abolish Slavery in that dissenting State, because it lies within the domain*

reserved entirely to each State for itself, and upon it the other States can not enter."

GEORGE H. PENDLETON'S DOCTRINE EXPOSED.

Now, my friends, it is no time lost, to stop and look into this doctrine for a moment. It is a phase of States' Rights heresies, which ought not to be overlooked in our public discussions; for it contains the very venom of those heresies concentrated under a single fang.

The Constitution of the United States, as every man may read who will refer to it, provides for its own amendment in two carefully-defined modes, either of which may be resorted to.

Any amendment of it, adopted in either of those modes, is *ipso facto* a part of the Constitution, and of as much force as the original instrument.

The Constitution declares that itself "shall be the SUPREME LAW of the land, and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding."

This Constitution, with these two fundamental provisions, was adopted by the people of every State, without exception; and they thereby bound themselves to it, in *all its parts*, forever.

In so adopting it, they agreed to abide by, and obey any amendment of it, which might be adopted in either of the authorized modes of amendment.

They did not except from that agreement *any* subject-matter of amendment, but left the whole range of amendments to the will of the nation, whenever, and in regard to whatsoever, that will might be constitutionally expressed.

Nothing in constitutional history or construction can be more plain and incontrovertible than these simple propositions. They defy successful contradiction or honest question. They exemplify in a striking manner, what history and the Constitution both establish, that the American people are not thirty-four distinct peoples, made up into thirty-four independent States, held together by the Constitution, like so many beads on a thread; but that they are, in the fullest sense of the term, *one* people and *one* nation, having as such, the incontestible power to make and amend their own Constitution, and to bind every State and every man in the nation to obedience to that Constitution as the supreme law, whatever form the nation may see proper, in a constitutional mode, to give it. [Great applause.]

IT IS NULLIFICATION, SECESSION, AND REBELLION.

Mr. Pendleton's doctrine strikes down at a single blow the whole grand idea of nationality, and invests each State with the right to nullify the Constitution, and to resist the will of the nation therein ordained. It goes to the very furthest limit of the doctrine of State Sovereignty, and dwindles the Constitution into nothingness. It says that Arkansas, Florida, Delaware, or Rhode Island is greater than the nation. It is the condensation of State Rights, nullification, secession, and rebellion into a single dogma, which repudiates the Constitution, and shatters the whole structure of the National Government into fragments. For, if there is any matter about which an amendment of the Constitution, can not be made, so as to be the supreme law of the land, then the Constitution itself is not the supreme law, and never was. For the power of amendment, unlimited in its scope, is declared by the Constitution, and is, therefore, as much the supreme law as any other part of that instrument; and if, as to any matter whatever, that power is a nullity, there is no other power there which may not also be nullified, and so the whole noble fabric be swept away, piece by piece, into the blank regions of the void and the lost.

IT IS SLAVERY PERPETUATED.

Could disunionists ask more than this? Can traitorous ingenuity more artfully contrive a doctrine that would at once denationalize America, wreck its Constitution, break its Union into formless ruins, throw its elements into warring confusion, and prostrate it in irretrievable anarchy? Could any devotee of Slavery invent a more perfect and eternal safeguard of it? "The Constitution as it is," unamended and unamendable, is Slavery as it was, unmoved and immova-

ble. [Cheers.] And to that the Democracy is pledged, and for that it struggles. Down with the Democracy, its candidates and its platform, now and for all coming time! [Enthusiastic and long-continued applause.]

“FOUR YEARS OF FAILURE.”

The traitors' platform proceeds thus:

*“That this Convention does explicitly declare, as the sense of the American people, that after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war, * * * justice, humanity, liberty, and the public welfare demand that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities, with a view to an ultimate Convention of the States, or other peaceable means, to the end that at the earliest practicable moment peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal Union of the States.”*

And this is what they say about the war whose thunders from Mobile Bay, Atlanta, and Petersburg were even then reverberating over the land. Not one word of cheer or encouragement to our noble soldiers and sailors! Not one breath of condemnation, or even censure, of their ruthless slayers! Not one syllable of any sort of purpose to vindicate or defend the Union! Not one thought for their country in its mortal grapple with the aristocracy of Slavery! Only a fetid, snaky hiss at “four years of failure!” Failure! how? when? where? The rebels had Norfolk, Yorktown, New Orleans, Port Hudson, Natchez, Vicksburg, Memphis, Columbus, Nashville, Chattanooga, Atlanta: have they got them now? [Exciting and vociferous cheers.] They had Louisiana, Mississippi, and Tennessee: who has them now? [Repeated cheers.] They had the Cumberland, the Tennessee, and the Mississippi: have they a drop of either now? [Cheers and cries of “No.”] They had open ports in Albemarle and Pamlico Sounds, and at Charleston, Port Royal, Savannah, and Mobile: are they open now? They had Forts Pulaski, Morgan, Gaines, Jackson, Henry, and Donelson: have they them now? [“No, no.”] Failure! Call you it a failure, when the rebellion has been shriveled up like a piece of burnt leather, and Sherman, Sheridan, and Grant have got it in the fire, and will hold it there till it is burned to ashes! [Enthusiastic cheers.] You might as well call a streak of lightning a failure, because it only knocked down three quarters of your house. [Cheers.] Hiss on, serpents! this is your time to hiss; but the lightnings of the people's wrath are gathering, and there will be no failure in their hissing stroke upon you on the eight of November. [Great cheers.]

CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES.

But “*justice, humanity, liberty, and the public welfare, demand that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities.*” Efforts—by whom? Of course, only by our Government. That is, the nation's Chief, at the very moment its armies have the rebellion throttled, and are choking the life of it, is to beg the rebel chief for a cessation of hostilities! After forty months of war, and in the very hour of advancing victory, we are to sue for an armistice! After sacrifices of money and lives, such as no other nation ever made, and while the nation is yet in full vigor to cope with the rebellion, we must make ourselves such dastards as the world never saw, and give up the graves of our fallen heroes, to be spit upon by Slavery's pirates! No! no! no! ten thousand times, No! [Great applause, and cries of “No.”] Wherever one drop of the blood of patriots has stained the soil is consecrated ground, not one clod of which is ever to be yielded back to the dominion of their murderers. [Cheers.] That is what I pronounce to be “sense of the American people” this day; and it will sweep over this land, scattering traitors and cowards, like chaff before a tornado. [Great applause.]

“A CONVENTION OF THE STATES.”

But these “immediate efforts for a cessation of hostilities” are to be made “*with a view to an ultimate Convention of all the States, or other peaceable means, to the end that at the earliest possible moment peace may be restored;*” and upon this idea the promise is lavishly spouted on every stump in the land where copperheads and traitors can be got to listen, that if we will only elect McClellan and Pendleton, the Union and peace will be restored, in any time you can name, from one month up. [Hisses and laughter.] My friends, if there is any thing cheap in the world it is promises, particularly with those who have neither capital nor credit. The devil, that old serpent, was full of them in the garden of Eden, when he betrayed our first mother; and his American progeny do no discredit to their great ancestor in their efforts to betray their country with lying and empty promises. [Laughter and shouts.] This whole scheme of a Convention of the States is a stupendous cheat, and a shameless imposture, designed to gather the weak, the cowardly, and the sordid into the great Democratic drag-net, wherein, as in the great sheet in St. Peter's vision, “are all manner of wild beasts and creeping things.” [Laughter and shouts.] Remem

ber, my friends, that no Convention of the States for amending the Constitution can be lawfully assembled, except under the authority of the Constitution, and in the mode prescribed by it. Under the Constitution what is necessary to the lawful convening of such a body? 1st. "The application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States;" and 2d. After such application, the passage by Congress of a law calling the Convention.

HAS THE SOUTH ASKED IT?

Mark, now, that the words "the several States," include the whole thirty-four States, of which twenty-three are two thirds. Does any sane man—did any man in the Chicago Convention—believe for one moment that in the present circumstances of the country the Legislatures of twenty-three States could be induced to apply for the calling of a Convention? No; every man there knew, and every sensible man in the country now knows, that it would be as impossible as to call a convention of the stars to make peace with a comet. The South would reject it, because it would be, practically, an abandonment of Slavery, and of the empire of Slavery, for which they inaugurated the war; and would, moreover, subject them to the control of the majority coming from the Northern States; and did not Jeff. Davis declare, and does not the whole South declare, that it was to throw off the rule of that very majority that the rebellion was precipitated? Has the South ever proposed to submit to the arbitrament of such a convention? Never. Does this platform say that the South is willing to go into such a convention? Not at all. Has any Democratic speaker at Chicago, or elsewhere, or any body else, in the United States, or in Canada, ventured to say that there has come from any source in the South, authoritative or unauthoritative, the most distant intimation that the rebels are willing even to consider such a proposition? Not one.

WOULD THE NORTH AGREE TO IT?

But suppose the South willing to come into such a measure, do you believe it would be possible, with all the experience we have had of the domineering imperiousness, and cold, calculating perfidy of Southern aristocrats, to induce the requisite number of Northern States to go into a Convention with them? If the whole sixteen Slave States—including West Virginia—should apply for a Convention, it would be necessary for seven of the Northern States to join in the application; and what seven of them would do it? Would Ohio? No, never. [Many voices, "never."] Nor would a single other Northwestern State; nor would a single New England State; nor would New York or Pennsylvania, California or Oregon. There is but one free State that I suppose might do it. New Jersey [laughter]; and I will not slander even her—politically, miserable as she is, or was—by affirming that she would.

WOULD THE FORMER SLAVE STATES?

But would it be possible to induce the whole sixteen former Slave States to apply for a convention? Let us see. West Virginia has prospectively abolished Slavery, is loyal to the Union, and has no interest in common with the South. Maryland is in the act of abolishing Slavery immediately; and so is cut loose from the South. Delaware is, practically, a free State, and is steadfast to the Union. Missouri has adopted bogus emancipation, and presently will take a step forward, and wipe out the accursed institution, instantly and forever [great applause]; and I promise you she would not ask for a convention. Arkansas and Louisiana have ordained new Constitutions abolishing Slavery, and Tennessee is marching on to the same glorious consummation. [Applause.] Here are seven of the so-called Slave States, of which, it may safely be assumed, not one would join in the application for a convention. If the other nine Slave States asked it, then you must find fourteen free States to concur with them; and they could never be found.

WOULD AMENDMENTS BE RATIFIED?

But suppose a convention called and amendments of the constitution adopted by it, there is yet more to be done. Those amendments would have to be ratified by the Legislatures of, or by conventions called in, three-fourths, or twenty-six of the States, before they would be a part of the Constitution. And I venture to say, that in the present state of the country no amendment can be devised, which would be ratified by that number of States, except that one, as sure to come as to-morrow's sun, and like it to come in glory, which shall declare Slavery abolished, and forever prohibited in the whole United States of America. [Great applause repeated.]

THE PROPOSED CONVENTION A CHEAT.

What, then, becomes of the Chicago project of a Convention? The South rejects it with scorn; the North rejects it from principle; and there is not a human being on earth that has the semblance of authority from the South or the North to propose it as a measure of peace. To propose it, is therefore to pro-

pose an impossibility; and to propose an impossibility in the present strained and anxious condition of the public mind, is a bald imposture, a vile cheat, a lying delusion, and a cruel and devilish wickedness; and every man in the Chicago Convention knew it was so, and was intended to be so, and knows it now. [Applause.]

"AN ULTIMATE CONVENTION"—A JACK O' LANTERN.

But, my friends, we have not yet reached the lowest depth of Democratic dissimulation and fraud, as exhibited in this portion of the Chicago platform. Please observe that they do not demand a cessation of hostilities for the purpose of going into a Convention which has been authoritatively proposed to be now held; but an effort for an armistice is to be made, "with a view to an ultimate convention of the States, or other peaceable means." That is, cease hostilities, not to go directly into a Convention, but with a view, or intention, of having such a Convention. But of what use is such an intention, when its accomplishment is impossible? It does not even merit to be classed with those "good intentions" with which the proverb says the way to hell is paved. Why, those traitors at Chicago, with all their ingenuity, could not completely cover up the cloven foot; it would stick out in spite of them. They perfectly knew the impossible character, the absolute nothingness of their plan of peace, and they tried hard to keep those features of it out of sight; but they tried in vain. They say, give us an armistice, with a view to—what? An *immediate* Convention of the States? Not a word of it! But "with a view to an *ultimate* convention;" or in other words, a Convention at some indefinite time in the eternal future, they say not, know not when! That is, drop everything, and take after a jack o' lantern, that will ever elude your grasp, and ever lure you on further and further as you approach it, and at last leave you floundering in the mire of the swamp from which it rose! [Great applause.]

WHAT BECOMES OF THE COUNTRY AND THE UNION.

In the meantime, as we follow the jack o' lantern, what becomes of the country? Its whole vast armies, wherever they may be, will be halted in their tracks; its magnificent navy cast anchor and float

"As idle as a painted ship
Upon a painted ocean;"

and the nation of twenty millions of Micawbers sit down to wait for "something to turn up." [Laughter and cheers.] And while they wait what becomes of the Union? Gone! gone forever! For a rebellion powerful enough to force a Government into an armistice, has power enough to defy it afterward. [Voice, "that's so."] Once grant an armistice, and all hope of conquering a peace is postponed indefinitely, if not blasted finally. Believe me, my friends, when I say that there is not one faint ray of hope for the Union, but in hammering it together with the tremendous trip-hammer of war, kept pounding right on while the iron is hot, until every grain and fiber is so welded into another grain and fiber, that neither State Rights nor Slavery, nullification or secession, man or devil, can separate or break them till the end of time. [Tremendous and continued applause and cheers.]

ON WHAT BASIS IS PEACE TO BE?

One more point, and I will leave this portion of the traitors' platform. If peace is restored, on what basis do they want it restored? They say, "On the basis of the Federal Union of the States." Do you not see the serpent's fang there again? What do they mean by that form of words? Just what they meant when they spoke of "the Union under the Constitution," namely, "the Union as it was under the Constitution as it is," which I have shown you means nothing but the Union dominated by Slavery, and the Constitution to protect its domination, and never to be amended so as to overthrow it. Well, my friends, let him who chooses uphold that kind of Union, I never will; for *it is perpetual disunion in the Union*. [Applause.] The Union must be restored with the cause of convulsion completely removed, or the volcano will ever and anon burst forth, until at last America will become the Pompeii of nations, buried under the mud and cinders of the Vesuvius of Slavery. [Great applause.]

REMAINING POINTS OF THE PLATFORM.

Time warns me to hasten to a close; and yet I have hardly passed the threshold of the almost illimitable field of discussion which the Presidential canvass opens. Long as I have detained you, favor me yet a while with your attention—[Cries of "go on, go on"]—as I dissect yet further the Chicago dead-fall. What remains of it to be considered may be arranged under four heads.

1. Denouncement of President Lincoln's Administration for the exercise of the war power and the military authority of the Government against the rebellion, and its aiders and abettors in the North.

2. Condemnation of the alleged interference of the military authorities in the elections in Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, and Delaware.

3. Censure of the Administration for disregard of its duty in respect to our soldiers who are prisoners of war in the hands of the rebels.

4. Expression of sympathy for our brave soldiers and seamen.

I do not propose an extended discussion of these points; but will, as briefly as possible, endeavor to expose the true character of each. They are, singly and collectively, the double-distilled extract of pro-slaveryism, treason, hypocrisy, deceit, and fraud. [Cheers.] Each contains much more than to a casual reader would be apparent; and the whole comprise all that any rebel could ask, of aid and comfort in his infernal work.

WAR POWER OF THE GOVERNMENT.

First. As to the war power of the Government, in the exercise of which they affirm that the Constitution has been disregarded in every part, and public liberty and private right alike trampled down.

Why did they not point this high-sounding generality with a specification? Because that did not suit the purpose of deception which marks every line they wrote. Why did they not say that the particular exercise of the war power at which they launched their thunderbolts, was President Lincoln's Proclamation of Emancipation? Because they did not dare to go to the people as the avowed champions of Slavery; much less would they venture to tell the people, as they covertly and basely told the South, that if they obtained power, that proclamation would be treated as so much blank paper, and the three millions and a half of Southern negroes be snatched from the embrace of freedom, and driven back into the iron arms of a hopeless and eternal slavery. And yet that is just what they meant; and may the bondage of eternal infamy hold them for meaning it. ["Amen" and cheers.]

PROCLAMATION OF EMANCIPATION.

It is of course impossible to enter now upon any proper discussion of that great proclamation. As I said to a public meeting in St. Louis, on the 28th of January, 1863, so I say here, that "my firm and unquestioning conviction is, that that proclamation was constitutional, expedient, and just, and ought to be enforced with all the strength of the army and navy of the United States; to the end that the power of Southern traitors shall be broken, scattered, and crushed forever and ever!" [Applause.] And such I believe to be the conviction of the whole loyal people of the nation. Most certainly all the South holds the exact reverse; and as certainly every Northern traitor agrees with the South. Let the people understand that, and all will be well. Let them fully see that the mantle of the Constitution is to cover up so dark and damning a deed as the annulment of that proclamation, and the riveting anew the chains of slavery upon those millions of negroes, and the result will nobly vindicate their incorruptible patriotism and their resolute devotion to the cause of human freedom. [Applause.]

USURPATION OF EXTRAORDINARY POWERS.

But under this head they appeal to the people against "*the administrative usurpation of extraordinary powers not granted by the Constitution; the subversion of the civil by the military law in States not in insurrection; the arbitrary arrest, imprisonment, trial and sentence of American citizens in States where the civil law exists in full force; the suppression of freedom of speech and of the press; * * * the employment of unusual test oaths; and the interference with, and denial of the right of the people to bear arms in their defense.*"

Every line of this is a text for a full discourse; but I can hardly devote more than a line to each line of it. I say it is false that the extraordinary powers exercised by the Government were not granted to it by the Constitution. The very existence of the Constitution—to say nothing of the expressly granted power to suppress insurrection—confers all powers, ordinary and extraordinary, to preserve itself, whether they be expressed in detail or not; [Voices—"That's it—that's it"] and the Government is, of supreme necessity, the sole judge in the first instance, whether any power, ordinary or extraordinary, shall be exercised. Traitors, rebels, and conspirators, have no right to judge of that. The Constitution's silence as to the particular means for its own protection, is not a license to treason, or a refuge for traitors. [Applause.]

THE LAW OF SELF-PRESERVATION.

The civil law is silent, necessarily silent, because of its weakness, in the presence of an armed rebellion. The military law supersedes it, not only on the spot where the rebellion is in arms, but on every other spot where any single man stands aiding the rebellion by act or word; whether the State in which he does so is, in its corporate capacity as a State, in rebellion, or not. The peo-

ple of a State may be in insurrection, and the State, as such, speaking and acting through its legislative and executive authorities, not be so. Whether the State is so or not, makes no difference if the people are so. The Government deals with individual rebels and traitors, not with a State as a corporate body. It can imprison, hang, and shoot traitors, but not a State. It has a right, through its military arm, to arrest, imprison, try, and sentence them wherever it finds them, whether the civil law is nominally in force there, or not. [Applause.] It has a right to suppress by military force every demonstration of treason everywhere. If a man talks treason, it has a right to stop his mouth. [Cheers.] If he prints treason, it has a right to stop his printing. [Applause.] It has a right to search out with a test oath the treason in the heart of every man who comes in contact with it, whether there is a written law for it or not, for it has a right to know its friends and its enemies. And, finally, it has a right to deny arms to the people, when those arms are intended to be used, or in danger of being used, for its overthrow. In one word, with governments as with men, self-preservation is the first law—higher than any written law, supreme over all law; and he is a traitor in heart who would abridge that law to our Government in this day of its struggle for life. [Great applause.] So far from condemning the acts of the Government, referred to, I condemn it because it has done so little of them. [Cheers.] Had it done more, treason would not now be "on the rampage" in the North. I call upon the Government to put forth its military power more earnestly and vigorously against traitors everywhere. [Cheers.] I call upon Mr. Lincoln to put away his heart of flesh, and take a heart of stone. [Loud cheers.] Then, and only then, will the rebellion, North and South, be crushed.

MILITARY INTERFERENCE IN ELECTIONS.

2. On the second point this platform thus speaks :

"That the direct interference of the military authorities of the United States, in the recent elections held in Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, and Delaware, was a shameful violation of the Constitution, and a repetition of such acts in the approaching election will be held as revolutionary, and resisted with all the means and power under our control."

The interference referred to was that exercise of the military power, which was designed to exclude from the high privilege of voting, those who were plotting treason against the Government, in the conduct of which they impudently demanded to have a voice; and yet the Chicago serpents breathed not a word of that; but it was a favorite cry with them through the streets of that city: "A free election or a free fight!" which, interpreted, means a free ballot-box for traitors, or a free fight by traitors! Well, let them come on! [Cheers.] Traitors can have as much fight as they want in Missouri, [great cheers,] and doubtless in Maryland, Delaware, and Kentucky; but if they are allowed a free ballot in any of those States, without interference by the military authorities, then those authorities have yet to learn how to administer that great first law of self-preservation, to which I just referred. Loyalty to Constitution and Government is the very foundation of the right of the elective franchise. [Cheers.] He who throws off his allegiance to his Government and seeks its overthrow, forfeits all rights of citizenship, whether the letter of the law says so or not. [Applause.] He is an outlaw, with no rights under the Constitution or laws, but that of having a rope that won't break when he is hung, or a bullet that won't miss his heart when he is shot. [Cheers.] It is enough for him to be allowed to live; infinitely too much for him to be allowed to vote. Drive him from the ballot-box by the military or any other lawful power; and if he must have a free fight, shoot him down. [Great cheers.]

DEMOCRATIC DENUNCIATION OF M'CLELLAN.

But, my friends, the most astonishing feature of this resolution is, that it is a fierce denunciation of the Democratic candidate for the Presidency, George B. McClellan, for he was the very first military officer of the United States who was guilty of "a shameful violation of the Constitution, by ordering the direct interference of the military authorities in elections." Here is the proof of it in official form, in the shape of a letter from his Chief of Staff, in October, 1861, to General Banks, in reference to an election in Maryland, then approaching:

"HEADQUARTERS, ARMY OF THE POTOMAC, WASHINGTON, Oct. 29, 1861.
 "GENERAL:—There is an apprehension among Union citizens in many parts of Maryland of an attempt to interfere with their rights of suffrage by disunion citizens, on the occasion of the election, to take place on the 9th of November next. In order to prevent this, the Major-General Commanding, directs that you send detachments of a sufficient number of men to the different points in your vicinity where the elections are to be held, to protect the Union voters, and

to see that no disunionists are allowed to intimidate them, or in any way to interfere with their rights.

"He also desires you to arrest and hold in confinement till after the election, all disunionists who are known to have returned from Virginia recently, and who show themselves at the polls, and to guard effectually against any invasion of the peace and order of the election. For the purpose of carrying out these instructions, you are authorized to suspend the *habeas corpus*. General Stone has received similar instructions to these. You will please confer with him as to the particular points that each shall take control of.

"I am, sir, respectfully, your ob't serv't, R. B. MARCY, Chief of Staff.

"Maj.-Gen. N. P. BANKS, Commanding Division, Muddy Branch, Maryland."

Now; I hope the Democracy will "face the music" of that letter, for to the loyal ear there is music in it—"Hail Columbia," "The Star Spangled Banner," "Rally Round the Flag, Boys," and all the rest. [Cheers and shouts.] But is it not strange that "Little Mac's" opponents have to defend him against the invectives and assaults of his nominators and supporters? [Laughter.]

THREAT OF NORTHERN REBELLION.

But notice the audacious threat to the Government, with which this resolution closes: "*A repetition of such acts in the approaching election, will be held as revolutionary and resisted with all the means and power under our control.*" Is there not a rebellion in the North, organized and ready for action? What else does this mean, than that Northern traitors will fight, if there is any attempt by the military authorities to keep traitors from voting in Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, and Delaware? When before have Northern men dared thus to defy their Government? And is not this defiance strong corroborative proof that the information which came from General Rosecrans' headquarters in St. Louis, of a conspiracy extending over a large portion of the North, to overthrow the Government, was true? And does it not go far to prove that the men of the Chicago Convention, were a portion of the conspirators, and the doings of that body a part of the plot? [Voices, "Yes, yes."]

COLORED PRISONERS OF WAR.

3. Under the third head we have this resolution in the traitors' platform:

"*That the shameful disregard by the Administration of its duty in respect to our fellow-citizens who are now, and long have been, prisoners of war, in a suffering condition, deserves the severest reprobation, on the score alike of public policy and common humanity.*"

This is another attempt to deceive and delude the people. How the Administration has disregarded its duty toward our soldiers held as prisoners of war, it does not say; but I will tell you what it means. It means that the Administration deserves the "severest reprobation," because it has refused to exchange prisoners with the rebels, *unless they will give back our black soldiers as well as our white ones*. In effect, it is the Slavery aristocrat's doctrine that a "nigger" is nothing but a chattel, and entitled to no rights which a white man is bound to respect. Against that I say, that he who fights the battles of his country is a man and no chattel, whatever his color; and were he as black as a moonless and starless night, he is as much entitled to the protection of his Government as any other man. [Enthusiastic cheers.] And I say further, that were he twice as black as any night that ever darkened the world, he is as white as snow alongside of any traitor that ever lived. [Shouts and applause.] And I say yet further, that if the President should abandon our colored soldiers to the fiendish malice of slave-driving 'rebels, after having called them into the ranks of his country's defenders, his name would deserve to be execrated in every part of the globe where civilization has redeemed man from barbarism, or Christianity was raised him above the level of a brute. [Great cheers.]

DEMOCRATIC SYMPATHY FOR OUR SOLDIERS AND SAILORS.

4. And finally, my friends, we come to the last clause of this platform of treason, wherein, as in the scorpion's tail, we find a sharp and fiery sting to those who, least of all in this land, deserved it. The serpents attempt to be sweet upon our brave soldiers and sailors, but can only hiss, in the following terms:

"*That the sympathy of the Democratic party is heartily and earnestly tendered to the soldiers of our army and the seamen of our navy, who now are and have been in the field under the flag of their country; and in the event of its attaining power, they will receive all the care, protection, and regard that the brave soldiers and sailors of the Republic have so nobly earned.*"

If ever an insult, undeserved, unprovoked, wanton, and wicked, was offered to brave men, that is one. And to such men! Men who have left home, and all that endeared it, to court the dangers and the horrors of the battlefield on land and the battle-deck on the water, for their country's sake! Men who for nearly four years have fought their way to a proud rank among the heroes of any country or age! Men who all that time have seen and known what it is to do and die for country and Freedom, as familiarly as

we have seen and known our daily business! Men, any one of whom is, in manhood, courage, and patriotism better than the whole Chicago Convention made up into one [Cheers.] And that Convention dared to offer "the sympathy of the Democratic party worthless, sordid, and rotten as it is, to American soldiers and sailors—to such soldiers as Grant and Sherman have led to victory—to such sailors as under Farragut, Port and Winslow have made our Navy a glory among nations. [Rounds of cheers.] Sympathy! Do they mean it as a word of encouragement, of approbation, of applause? How can they, when every other line and word of their platform speaks sympathy to the rebellion into which those stalwart soldiers and sailors are pouring the volleys of death? If they intend to be considered as meaning that, how transparent and contemptible is the lie! Do they mean compassion, commiseration, pity—all synonyms of sympathy? If so, is it for the "four years of failure" with which they had before contemptuously reproached our Army and Navy? If not, what soldier or sailor want their pity? [Derisive shouts.] Do they mean fellow-feeling—another synonym of sympathy? If so, then has the age of miracles returned, and patriotism and treason are the same, good and evil are no longer apart, and dogs and men have become one [Cheers.] For such sympathy, from such men to such men, there is no language of scorn but is poor, no vocabulary of derision that it not barren. The spurn of the foot, the stamp of the heel, is all it deserves, and that it will receive from every soldier and sailor in the Army and Navy of the Republic. There let it lie! [Great applause.]

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

My friends, I have completed, according to my capacity, the work which I assigned to myself to do on this occasion. My aim was to set forth, in as clear and strong a light as I could, the position, aims, and spirit of that party in the Union which locks hands with the Union's enemies, and is this day a more formidable foe to the Union and to Freedom than all the armies of their rebel brothers in the South. Time does not permit even a slight examination of the position, aims, and spirit of that great Union party in the nation, to which we adhere. Suffice it to say, that they are in every conceivable particular the direct and immovable opposite of those of the Democracy. Our position is open, manly, patriotic, and truthful, and appeals to the judgment and heart of every manly, patriotic, and truthful citizen. It is for Freedom, and against Slavery; for the Union, and against disunion; for the war for the Union's preservation, and against any cessation of hostilities which traitors could devise. [Cheers.] It is for the Constitution, and against all its assailants, South and North. It is for the AMERICAN NATION, and against any possible division of it, under any possible pretense. [Applause.] It is for the rule of the people, and against the despotism of an aristocracy. It is for the constitutional right of the majority to govern, and against the domination of a minority. It is for the perfect integrity of the nation's territory, and against giving up one hair's breadth of it to any power on earth, and least of all to traitors. [Enthusiastic applause.]

In one word, whatever, from the greatest to the least, rebels, traitors, Copperheads, pro-slaveryites, or Democrats ask, we refuse; whatever they embrace we reject; whatever they purpose we oppose; for they demand nothing, embrace nothing, purpose nothing, which will not, if accomplished, bring disaster and disgrace to our country. Above all things we are against any imaginable form of peace which traitors could patch up with traitors. [Great applause.] If peace is to come, as it surely will in God's own good time, it must be the peace of unconditional, absolute, and complete submission to the rightful authority of the National Government. [Tremendous applause.]

And, if we are true to ourselves and our cause, it must be a peace, as Abraham Lincoln said in his "To whom it may concern," with "ABANDONMENT OF SLAVERY;" for any other peace would be as monstrous a delusion and sham as the Chicago platform. [Great cheers.] STRIKE THE SHACKLES OFF THE LAST SLAVE IN THE REPUBLIC! is the only watchword of real peace. [Renewed cheers.] And it must be a peace that will last. We can not afford to fight this war over again. Whether in this Republic, and in all republics, rebellion is to be periodical and chronic, until, as in Mexico, despotism emerges from anarchy, to seize the reins of power and make itself perpetual, depends upon how we vindicate in this struggle the integrity of a republican form of government. God has committed this great trust to our hands, and he will take account of how we keep it. The world looks across continents and oceans to see how we discharge it. We are responsible to the past and the future for what we do, and what we leave undone. Freedom commits her cause in the whole earth to our keeping, and Despotism strains his blood-shot eyes from all his strongholds, greedily watching the issue. We can not, if we would, avoid the conflict, for it is upon us now, and we must see it through to its end in glory or in shame. The leprosy of treason infects the nation, and only a Jordan of blood will cleanse it away. [Cheers.] We can not buy ourselves out of it if we would. Liberty scorns to sell her glorious privileges: they are for those alone who will fight for them. We may suffer in her cause, but it is a cause worth suffering for. We may die in her service, but it will be a death to be envied; for the body of every brave freeman slain for her sake holds the doors of Freedom more widely open to the generations coming on. [Great applause.] Onward! then, friends of the Union and of universal freedom, onward! Liberty and Union is the peerless prize; disunion and Slavery the dread alternative. The last tremendous hour is at hand. Lose no time! harness for the combat! forward in solid column to the front! and then

"One last great battle for the right—
One short, sharp struggle to be free!
To do is to succeed—our fight
Is waged in Heaven's approving sight—
The smile of God is victory!"

[Enthusiastic cheers and applause.]